

FRANCIS MASSON, A GARDENER-BOTANIST WHO COLLECTED AT THE CAPE.

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(With Plates XXVII and XXVIII.)

III.

MASSON'S JOURNEYS AT THE CAPE (*Continued*).

On October 16, 1785, MASSON again left for the Cape. He sailed from Portsmouth in the *Earl of Talbot* of the English East India Company and arrived in Table Bay on January 10, 1786. Prominent men on board, undoubtedly including MASSON, immediately disembarked and took their lodgings with the widow of the former Burgher Councillor PETRUS J. DE WIT, who had a farm in the present Riversdale district.

However, on his arrival he soon met with difficulties when the authorities learnt about his intentions to proceed on journeys into the country, and it did not take him long to write the following letter to BANKS⁸⁸:

Cape of Good Hope,
Jany. 21, 1786.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my arrival at this place on the tenth inst., after a passage of twelve weeks. Next day I waited on the Governor⁸⁹, and delivered the letter from the Dutch Ambassador; he

⁸⁸ This letter and the one MASSON wrote from the Cape on March 8, 1786, were published by BRITTON in his paper on MASSON in the *Journal of Botany*, Vol. XXII 1884, pp. 119 and 120, from which they have been taken. There is little doubt that these two letters represent transcripts made by the daughters of DAWSON TURNER who was to have written a biography of Sir JOSEPH BANKS. The transcripts are in the Botany Dept. of the British Museum (Natural History), but nothing is known about the whereabouts of the originals—if they still exist. Among the letters and accounts received from MASSON in the Sir JOSEPH BANKS Manuscripts Collection in the Sutro Branch of the California State Library (see below) there are none of the year 1786. The transcripts are supposed to be exact copies of the original letters, apart from having been cleansed of spelling mistakes. As a matter of fact we did not come across a single MASSON original which did not show wrongly spelt words and (or) other errors.

DAWSON TURNER (1775-1858) was a botanist and antiquary. MARIA, his eldest daughter, was married to Sir WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER, Director of Kew, known for his inaugurating the *Flora Capensis*.

⁸⁹ This is Lieutenant-Colonel CORNELIS JACOB VAN DE GRAAFF, appointed governor of the Cape in February, 1785. In June, 1791, he embarks for Europe, and never returns.

treated me in the most friendly hospitable manner, but was at a loss how to act respecting my request, as it was ordered by the Company that no stranger hereafter should have liberty to explore the country. However, the letter from the Ambassador and the small distance from the Cape mentioned in my instructions, after lying it before the Council, he thought himself warranted to grant the request, which he did in the gentlest, friendly manner, advising me at the same time to conduct myself as not to excite the jealousy of the inhabitants, which was raised to a great degree on account of Mr. Patterson⁹⁰. Mr. Brant⁹¹ came up

⁹⁰ WILLIAM PATERSON (1755-1810), a traveller and soldier who was to become lieutenant-governor of Tasmania. He entered the army at an early age, but not before he had developed a strong liking for natural history, especially botany. Under the patronage of the eccentric Countess of STRATHMORE, he travelled widely at the Cape during the years 1777-79. He left England in February, 1777, arrived at Cape Town in May, and on October 16, in company with Capt. (later Col.) GORDON, made his first expedition into the interior, returning to Cape Town on January 13, 1778. His second journey lasted from May to November 20 of that year, while the third, from December 23, 1778, till March 23, 1779, was into the district which he called Caffraria, and, wrongly, claimed as hitherto unknown. We know that THUNBERG has been there before, that this Swede made two journeys into Caffraria, during 1772-73 and 1773-74, described in his *Travels*. On June 18, 1779, PATERSON set out on a fourth journey into the interior, together with SEBASTIAAN VAN REENEN; the party was later joined by Col. GORDON and JACOBUS VAN REENEN. They returned to the Cape on December 21. These expeditions were described in his work *A Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria in the Years 1777-8-9*. London, 1789. The work, which is illustrated, is dedicated to Sir JOSEPH BANKS. A second edition and a French translation appeared in 1790.

Early in 1780, PATERSON returned to England in a Dutch East Indiaman. He arrived in London on June 30, 1780. When England declared war on Holland on December 20 of that year, PATERSON was transferred to Commodore JOHNSTONE's fleet which left England with 3,000 men on board on May 13, 1781, in order to annex the Cape and to convoy the East India trade so far on the way. They attacked Saldanha Bay, where five Dutch East Indiamen were reported to be lying unprotected. Four of these were taken and towed off. After the attack the Indiamen, transports and several ships of the squadron under orders for the East Indies parted company. The rest with the prizes were sent home from St. Helena. PATERSON too returned to England. In October of that year he was gazetted to the 98th Regiment, after which he was sent to India. In June, 1789, he was one of the lieutenants chosen to recruit and command a company of the newly-formed New South Wales Corps. He arrived in Botany Bay, N.S.W., in October, 1791. He was again in England in 1798, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Royal Asiatic Society because of his contributions to science. In 1799 he returned to the Colony as lieutenant-colonel of the Corps. He was sent to Tasmania as lieutenant-governor in 1804, leaving that Colony in May, 1810. He died on the passage home on board her Majesty's ship *Dromedary* on June 21.

Lieut. PATERSON made extensive collections of Cape plants for herbarium records, as may be judged from his account in *A Narrative*, etc. R. A. DYER, in his paper *Col. R. J. Gordon's Contribution to S.A. Botany* (1949), says that PATERSON's specimens have not been traced, which replaces the much older statement by C. A. HARRIS in *Dictionary of National Biography* (1895), from which most of above records have been taken, that his botanical collections are in the British Museum. The French traveller F. LE VAILLANT speaks highly of PATERSON's researches (*New Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa*, 1796), but in THUNBERG's eyes he was not much of a botanist: "He professed to travel at the expense of certain individuals [the Countess of STRATHMORE!], and possessed some small knowledge of Botany, but was, in fact, a mere Gardener" (*Travels*, Vol. IV (1796), p. 271; see also this Journal, Vol. V, Oct., 1939, p. 153). PATERSON is credited with having brought to England the first giraffe skin ever seen here.

from False Bay, and exerted his influence. Colonel Gordon⁹² is in the back country, and is expected home in a month. I have collected about sixty sorts of seeds, which will be sent by Mr. Irvin, passenger in a Dane, who will touch at some port in the Channel. This I send by an Hanoverian officer, passenger in a french ship for L'orient.

Referring to the illustrations in *A Narrative*, etc., MUIR, in his article 'n *Raaisel van die Agtiende Eeu* [A Riddle of the 18th Century], *I. William Paterson* (Die Huisgenoot, July 28, 1933, p. 15), writes (transl.): "Paterson's most remarkable talent was his great skill as a draughtsman and designer, not only of plants and animals, but also of landscapes and buildings—a gift which is of great value to a soldier". Regarding the pictures of Cape plants in PATERSON's work, see the chapter on MASSON's drawings.

⁹¹ Mynheer CHRISTOFFEL BRAND, officer of the Dutch East India Company in charge of False Bay. He is also mentioned by SPARRMAN (this Journal, Vol. XXIII, April, 1957, p. 48), but the name is not correctly spelt. Moreover, BRAND being a Dutchman, his Christian name is CHRISTOFFEL and not Christopher.

⁹² ROBERT JACOB GORDON (1741–95) was a son of Major-General JACOB GORDON, of the Scots Brigade, in the service of Holland. He was descended from a Scottish ancestor, who had emigrated to Holland much earlier. ROBERT JACOB was born with his father's regiment in Guelderland and was dedicated to an army career. He entered the University of Harderwijk in that province and, after leaving Harderwijk, he joined his father's regiment as a cadet. Being of an enterprising and scientific turn of mind, as DYER puts it, GORDON decided to travel.

He first touched at the Cape in 1773 for a short stay and returned there as a captain in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He was placed in charge of the garrison at the Cape, rose to the rank of colonel and died by his own hand in 1795.

When GORDON visited the Cape in 1773, he met THUNBERG and MASSON, and they went together on a little expedition, as related by THUNBERG in *Travels* (Vol. I, p. 265 (1795), the Cape 1773): "In the month of May, between the 13th and 19th, in company with Major GORDON and an English gardener, lately arrived, of the name of MASON, I made an excursion on foot round the mountains situate between the Cape and False Bay".

After he had returned to the Cape in 1777 as a "Kapitein Militair", GORDON proceeded on a long journey into the interior, accompanied by Lieut. PATERSON (cf. footnote 90) on October 16. They travelled along False Bay, journeyed to Swellendam, and stayed for five days at Rietvlei, a post of the Dutch East India Company. After having spent a short time on the farm of the VAN REENENS, GORDON and PATERSON journeyed together to the present Willowmore district. Then they parted company: PATERSON, who was not in good health, returned to the Cape, while GORDON continued the journey in a northern direction. Finally he reached the banks of a great river far inland, which he was going to name Orange River. This is the "Great River" of which rumours had reached the Cape from its first settlement. It was crossed by Capt. HENDRIK HOP and his party in 1761, but not named. The ceremonial christening of the river took place in August, 1779, when GORDON and PATERSON had joined forces again in an expedition to the region near the mouth of the river. This is described by PATERSON in his *Narrative of Four Journeys*, etc. (1789), and quoted by DYER in his paper *Col. R. J. Gordon's Contribution to S.A. Botany*, pp. 10 and 13 (1949): "In the evening we launched Colonel Gordon's boat, and hoisted the Dutch colours. Colonel Gordon proposed first to drink the State's health, and then that of the Prince of Orange and the Company; after which he gave the river the name of the Orange River in honour of the Prince".

PATERSON thought highly of GORDON, as stands out clearly from the following quotation from his book (DYER, *loc. cit.*, p. 9): "It was a circumstance peculiarly favourable to my views, that previous to proceeding on my journey [obviously his first expedition into the interior, 1777–78], I had the good fortune to meet with

I cannot express the obligation I am under to Sir Archibald Campbell⁹³ and all the gentlemen of the *E. Talbot*, who gave me assurance of a good reception in India, had I not succeeded at the Cape.

I thank you for the ready assistance you gave me at my departure. I shall remember the wine, but am sorry to inform you that it is raised from thirty Rix Dollars to eighty, and every other article in proportion.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servt.,
Frans. Masson

Owing to the obstacles thrown in his way which looked unsurmountable, MASSON felt so little at ease at the Cape that he wanted to leave the country altogether and be allowed to proceed to India, as we learn from the following extract from a letter of GEORG FORSTER to BANKS, dated January 30, 1786: "Mr. Masson will have written you that the Dutch Government permitted him to remain at the Cape; tho' it would seem that his Residence here is by no means generally approved of. They say that Mr. Patterson made an ill use of the Liberty that was given him, and an ungenerous return of the great kindness that was shewn him, in having accompanied Mr. Johnston⁹⁴ in the capacity of a

a most intelligent companion, Captain Gordon (now Colonel), who had travelled in this country some years before, about 1774, and was lately returned from Holland as second in command, and appointed to succeed Colonel Du Phrem [Major (later Lt.-General) HENDRIK PREHN !], who was then Commander in Chief. Colonel Gordon is a gentleman of extensive information in most branches of natural history; and, I believe, is the only person who has any considerable knowledge of that country . . . " We may add to this that he had a command of the Dutch, English, German and French languages, and had also acquired a fair knowledge of some of the native tongues of the Cape. Moreover, he was a skilled draughtsman, and left a considerable collection of drawings, of the country, its inhabitants and its flora and fauna. More will be said about GORDON's work as a draughtsman in connection with the plates in MASSON's *Stapeliae Novae* (see the chapter on MASSON's drawings).

GORDON's loyalty to the Prince of Orange ended in tragedy. When Holland fell under the revolutionary government of France in 1795, the anti-Orange faction founded the Batavian Republic and the Stadtholder, Prince WILLIAM V, took refuge in England. Later in the year an English fleet arrived at Cape Town and demanded the surrender of the Colony to England on behalf of their ally. Col. GORDON, being in command of the military forces of the Dutch at Cape Town, found himself torn between the admiration he had always felt for the Prince of Orange and the loyalty he still felt to his country. He decided not to resist the English, but his honour as a soldier did not leave him any other way out than to shoot himself.

For most of the above records we are indebted to DYER in his paper on GORDON.

⁹³ Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL (1739-91), of Inverneil, General and Governor of Jamaica and Madras. He entered the army as a captain in the Fraser Highlanders, served throughout the campaign in N. America (the Americans were revolting against the English). In July, 1782, he was appointed governor of Jamaica and in November of that year promoted major-general. In 1785 he was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of Madras. In the *Earl of Talbot* he was on the way to Madras.

⁹⁴ Commodore GEORGE JOHNSTONE (1730-87) commanded the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope in 1781. See footnote 90.

Guide. That such conduct was dishonourable, and wholly derogatory to the Character he was received in amongst them. Masson, whose worth and excellence there is no need of bearing Testimony of to you, is desirous of going to India, where at this time, Koning [KOENIG⁹⁵] being dead, there is no person of his talents or Profession, and where, particularly in Bengal, there is an ample harvest of natural Curiosities to be reaped.

Could you therefore procure Masson's Mission to that Country, a benefit would be entailed on the State and Natural History, and a service rendered to an honest man."

FORSTER could not have been more appreciative indeed; MASSON was well thought of, both as a man and as a naturalist.

MASSON certainly had not anticipated that his second sojourn at the Cape would start with trouble. We may give a detailed account of what happened, and which will elucidate the foregoing⁹⁶.

On the day of his arrival, MASSON approached Governor VAN DE

⁹⁵ This is JOHANNIS GERHARDUS KOENIG, born at Lemenen, Ungernhof, Govt. of Courland, Baltic, in 1728, and died at Jagrenathporum, India, in 1785. He studied pharmacy, biology, and medicine, and was a pupil of LINNAEUS for two years. In 1768 he went to India in the employ of the Danish (Moravian) Mission as a surgeon and naturalist at Tranquebar. In 1774 he entered the service of the Nabob of Arcot, and in July 1778 he was appointed naturalist at the Madras establishment of the Dutch East India Company, to which he was attached for the rest of his life. He bequeathed his manuscripts and plants to Sir JOSEPH BANKS; they are now in the British Museum (Natural History).

For the above records we are indebted to Mrs. M. J. VAN STEENIS-KRUSEMAN; they have been taken from her work *Flora Malesiana* I, 1, 1950, pp. 288-89 (first general part under the sub-title *Malaysian Plant Collectors and Collections being a Cyclopaedia of Botanical Exploration in Malaysia . . . up to the year 1950*), publ. in Holland. It may be added that KOENIG is among the botanists and collectors of whom short biographical data are given in the preface to THUNBERG'S *Flora Capensis*. THUNBERG says about him (edit. Schultes, 1823, Praefatio Auctoris, p. VIII): "KOENIG, Danus, sub itinere suo in Malabariam, brevi in Promontorio bonae spei commoratus, indefessâ opera plantas plures legit, quas cum illustr. LINNAEO communicavit, quaeque in Mantissis describuntur". [Transl.: KOENIG, a Dane (!), having remained a short time at the Cape of Good Hope, on his journey to Malabar, collected with tireless energy many plants which he sent to the illustrious LINNAEUS, and which are described in his Mantissae (= *Mantissa Plantarum*, 2 vols., 1767 and 1771). In his paper on the younger LINNAEUS's letters to ABR. BACK 1778, in Svenska Linné-Sällskapets Årsskrift (Årgång XXXVII-XXXVIII, 1954-55, p. 140, footnote 6), A. HJ. UGGLA refers to KOENIG as having sent large collections of plants to LINNAEUS.

SPARRMAN in his letter of May 2, 1772 (see this Journal, Vol XXIII, Oct., 1957, p. 130), writes that he has forwarded LINNAEUS's letter to KÖNIG in Tranquebar. We had not any records of him at the time, and in footnote 63 he was wrongly assumed to be a merchant and perhaps a representative of the Swedish E. I. Company. This personality is not to be confused with CHARLES DIETRICH EBERHARD KÖNIG (orig. KÖNIG), German-born naturalist and assistant to DRYANDER (see Part I of our paper, this Journal, Oct., 1958, p. 210, footnote 17).

⁹⁶ J. MUIR, 'n Raaisel van die Agtiende Eeu [A Riddle of the 18th Century], I. *William Paterson*, Die Huisgenoot, July 28, 1933, pp. 59 and 61; II. *Francis Masson*, ibid., Aug. 4, 1933, pp. 17 and 69. V. S. FORBES, *Paterson's Travels*, S.A. Geogr. Journ., Vol. XXX, April, 1948, pp. 52-70. D. DUCKWORTH, *The Log-book of William Paterson*, *Africana Notes and News*, Vol. 12, June, 1957, pp. 194-5.

GRAAFF and the Council of Policy ("Politieke Raad") for permission to collect plants. He handed his credentials and a letter of introduction to the Governor, which were directly addressed to this gentleman through the agency of the Dutch Ambassador in London, D. W. VAN LIJNDEN, at the urgent request of the Marquis of CARMARTHEN, Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was most unfortunate that the letters had not come by the agency of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, in Holland, neither from the Dutch Government. Holland had been at war with England from 1780-83, but the fear of espionage, stiffened by Lt. PATERSON'S behaviour, had continued at the Cape. MASSON'S request, with which the authorities in Holland had nothing to do, put the gentlemen at the Cape in a rather awkward position. It is beyond doubt that when PATERSON was sent with Commodore JOHNSTONE'S fleet to the Cape (see footnote 90), this was on account of his being acquainted with the coastal regions which he had visited during his stay at the Cape (1777-80), so he could act as a pilot into Saldanha Bay. We do not know if PATERSON willingly or unwillingly participated in the expedition against the Cape. As a soldier he had to obey, but had he deliberately collected information of military value when he was exploring the coasts in anticipation of a war with Holland? If this is the case, he has very badly repaid his former friends at the Cape for all hospitality and help bestowed on him. PATERSON might have known when the outbreak of war was to be expected. He left the Cape rather hurriedly early in 1780, after having nearly landed in jail because of debt. His patron, the Countess of STRATHMORE, having refused to cover all his further expenses—she simply ignored him—the commander of the troops at the Cape, Lt.-General PREHN⁹⁷, helped him out by advancing him some money. In any case PATERSON'S behaviour was greatly taken amiss at the Cape.

Returning to MASSON, he definitely was a better man than PATERSON and has achieved far more in the field of natural history. We can only regret that the events placed him in a doubtful position. However, the suspicion was gradually waning, and MASSON would not return to England until 1795.

⁹⁷ HENDRIK PREHN, of German extraction, was born at the Cape in 1733. He was sent to Holland in 1752, and saw military service in the Seven Years' War in Germany. He returned to the Cape in 1768 as a major and was promoted to the rank of Lt.-general in 1779. In the following year he returned to Holland, where he died in 1785.

He is introduced by SPARRMAN in Vol. I of his *Voyage* as "Baron van Pehm" (see this Journal, Vol. XXIII, April, 1957, pp. 46 and 47). According to E. MORITZ (*Die Deutschen am Kap unter der Holländischen Herrschaft*, 1652-1806, publ. 1938), there is no evidence that HENDRIK PREHN (not Pehm) was ever made a baron and entitled to have his name preceded by a "von" as a reward for his military services in Germany.

In one of the letters from the Dutch Ambassador addressed to the Governor, it is said that MASSON "had been dispatched by the King of England to collect for his Majesty's Gardens [the Royal Gardens at Kew] the noteworthy herbs and plants growing at the Cape of Good Hope". The letters were submitted to the Council of Policy, and from the Resolution⁹⁸, which was passed forthwith, the following may be quoted here.

"That on account of the advantage that could be taken of such a permission, like the example given, viz. by the English Botanist Paterson, who, having obtained a liberty of the kind, has acquired by that such a knowledge in this matter, that afterwards he was, as one will understand, commissioned to the fleet of Commodore Johnstone, in order to be of service, in case one would have consented to attempt the landing at this place [Saldanha Bay]; therefore his Honour [the Governor] would not have had any objections to refuse that request forthwith. . . . Wherefore, in view of the aforesaid well-founded statement, supplied by the Governor, it was considered that the request as it stands of the above-mentioned Botanist Mason to this Council could not be complied with, but that on the other hand the representations made by his Excellency the Ambassador in the above-mentioned letter, should be fully deferred to. Therefore it has been agreed to comply with the above-mentioned request. But thereby this same Botanist Mason, concerning his making of journeys in this country; the restrictions are that all opportunities are to be denied to him to approach the sea-coasts within a distance of three

⁹⁸ Resolutions of the Council of Policy, dated the 17th January, 1786, in the Government Archives, Cape Town. The original Dutch text reads as follows: "Dat uit hoofde van het verkeerd gebruik, het welk van diergelijke permissie zoude kunnen werden gemaakt gelyk een voorbeeld daarvan gegeven is, door den Engelschen Botanicus Paterson, die eene vrijheid van dien aard bekomen hebbende, daar door eene zodanige kennis de deeessen [sic] heeft bekomen, dat hij naderhand, gelijk men verstendigt is, op de vloot onder den Commandeur Johnstone is geplaatst geworden, om in cas men zoude hebben kunnen goedvinden de landing tegens deese plaatse te onderneemen, daartoe van dienst te zijn, sijn Edele dierhalven geene bedenkingen zoude hebben gehad, dat versoeck direct van de hand te weysen. . . . En nadien om de voors[eide] door den Heeren Gouverneur Bijgebragte allezints gegronde remarque werd geoordeeld, dat in het bloot versoeck van voorm[elde] Botanicus Mason bij deesen Raade mede niet zoude kunnen werden getreeden, dog dat men aan de andere zijde zig niet heeft kunnen onthouden aan de betuygingen, door sijn Excellentie den heere Ambassadeur bij de voorwz. brief gedaen, volkomen te defereeren, is mitsdien verstaan, het meergem. versoeck t'accordeeren, dog daarbij aan denzelven Botanicus Mason omtrent zijne reysen in het land te maken, die bepalingen dat hem alle geleegenheden werden afgesneden, om op den afstand van drie uren gaans de seekusten te naderen, en denzelven tot het opspuren en verzamelen der merkwaardigen kruiden en planten overvloedige ruimte te laten op alle oorden en Bergen die binnen de bepalingen geleegeen zijn, mits ook die Bergen binnen gezegde uijterstea slegts aan de Landseijde beneden langs te mogen bezoeken en doorkruisen". If Masson should trespass, the orders were „om hem dadelik te arresteeren en ter naaste plaats in verseekering te brengen".

hours' journeying; and to allow to the same abundant scope for searching for and collecting notable herbs and plants on all regions and mountains that lie within the defined limits; provided that also the mountains within the said extreme limits may only be visited and traversed along their lower landward slopes." In the event of any trespassing by MASSON, every inhabitant was empowered and ordered to arrest him, viz. "immediately to arrest him and take him into custody at the nearest place". Then he would be brought back to the Cape at his own expense, and permission (to travel again) would be withdrawn.

So he got the permission, but with certain restrictions keeping him from the coast, which was contrary to the instructions given him by BANKS, who wanted his collecting activities limited particularly to the shores of False and Hout Bays, as we shall see in BANKS's letter to MASSON of June 3, 1787.

After all, in spite of the difficulties he met with, MASSON abandoned the India plan and decided to remain at the Cape. He settled down to work and sent the following letter to BANKS:

Cape of Good Hope,
8th March, 1786.

Sir,

About the 8 or 9 of last month I wrote you per favour of *Mr. Irwin*, passenger on board a Danish Indiaman, who was also good enough to take charge of a parcel of seeds of about one Hundred and two species, which I hope you will receive in season to sow. Since that date I obtained permission of the Governor to visit Hottentot Holland mountains for only five days, and was so fortunate to find some of the rarest *Eruae* [*Ericae* !] and *Proteae* in seed. I also found some new species of *Proteae*, which is not yet described, and some other Genera, which now convinces me that these mountains, although so near the Cape, has never been properly explored. There is seed of an *Erica* which I have named *E. Banksiana*, of which you have but an imperfect specimen in your collection. It associates with *E. Plukenetii* and *E. Petiverii* in figure of the Corolla. As all the seeds are in their Capsulas, some are so minute that great attention must be had to rubbing them out when they are sown, otherwise many will be lost. *E. retorta*, *coronaria*, *pinastra*, *Massonii*, grows on the mountains in white sand produced from the sandstone rocks which compose the mountains, and in England will require a Turf soil mixt with a little sharp white sand⁹⁹.

⁹⁹ The various *Erica* spp. mentioned here: *Erica Banksiana* = *E. banksia*, Andr. var. *purpurea*, Andr.; *E. plukenetii*, L.; *E. petiverii*, L.; *E. retorta*, Montin; *E. "coronaria"*: MASSON obviously meant *E. coronata*, Andr., later renamed *E. fascicularis*, L. f.; *E. "pinastra"* = *E. pinea*, Thunb.; *E. massoni*, L. f.

We have three English Ships of War here, who will remain for some weeks, and will not arrive in England untill late in Summer. I therefore send part of my collection by Sir Thomas Milne, who is passenger in a Portuguese Ship bound to Lisbon. The parcel contains 117 species; a Catalogue of both parcels is enclosed.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient
humble Servant,
Frans. Masson

This is the last letter written by MASSON in 1786 in the Banksian correspondence.

MASSON's genuine interest in the vegetation of the country and his zeal as a plant collector made him disobey BANKS's instructions and go on collecting expeditions much farther afield, which was not heartily approved of at home, as appears from the following quotations from a letter addressed to him by BANKS, dated June 3, 1787:

"Mr. Masson,

The Plants you have sent home have succeeded so much better than any you sent home when you was last at the Cape that we have every reason to praise your industry, & to see the propriety of a search near the place of your residence in preference to expensive journeys up the country, which seldom produce an adequate return in really ripe seeds.

I hope that before this time you have taken up your head-quarters as I directed at False bay; the most rare plants to be met with in European herbariums are from that place, & you know that one rare described Plant is worth two nondescripts.

I intended about this time to have asked leave of his Majesty to order you to Botany Bay; but, finding from your letter to Mr. Aiton that you had an aversion to the place, I have made interest that another person should be sent there."

In a postscript he mentions having received letters from MASSON while writing the above, and adds:—

"These letters mention your having undertaken 2 long Journeys, which surprised me, as your instructions are very absolute on that subject. What I recommend is a fixed residence during the ripening season at any place where plants are abundant; but more especially that my directions relative to False Bay be complied with; & till you have exhausted that place and Hart [Hout !] Bay, which I expect will be prov'd rich, I trust you will remain quiet; afterwards you may propose excursions."

So far BANKS. The above quotations contain a rather curious remark, viz. about not yet described plants, and we wholeheartedly agree with MACOWAN, who writes¹⁰⁰: "Botanists now-a-days are not of Sir JOSEPH BANKS's opinion. With them the non-descripts are precisely the objects of special search, and a botanical collector who should contentedly become a fixture on the shores of False Bay, would speedily hear from his employers something to his disadvantage."

Why did Sir JOSEPH want to restrict MASSON's collecting activities to these coastal regions? Was there some other reason which had nothing to do with botany? Some of the most important forts were at Hout Bay and along the coast of False Bay, the very places BANKS wanted MASSON to explore thoroughly. Moreover, BANKS's statement that the rarest plants to be found in herbariums in Europe have come from that place, is rather strange and open for more than one explanation. As we have seen, MASSON was not at all keen to stick to the shores of False Bay, etc. (where his movements were restricted by the Cape Government !), which made him explore the interior against BANKS's instructions. This certainly speaks in his favour, if there should be any suspicion of espionage. His account of his journeys clearly shows how he was fascinated by the flora and fauna of the country he traversed. When he left the Cape in March, 1795, he undoubtedly knew when the outbreak of war could be expected. It was only a few months later, on June 11, that Admiral ELPHINSTONE landed his army at False Bay. We think this need not necessarily place MASSON in an unfavourable light. In his *Stapeliae Novae* he says, as we shall see later, that fear to lose his plants in an expected invasion, prompted him to leave the country. MUIR¹⁰¹ seems to be a little suspicious about this, but in our opinion the reason given by MASSON is quite acceptable, for he certainly had in mind that owing to the war with France part of the collected material sent home from the West Indian Islands never reached their destination (see BANKS's Memorandum !).

Finally, it should be put forward that when MASSON arrived at the Cape in January, 1786, the plans for the defence of the Colony were already known to Lt.-Col. WILLIAM DALRYMPLE, consequently also to the British Government.

But what about Sir JOSEPH BANKS? His behaviour definitely gives much more rise to suspicion than MASSON's. MUIR even goes so far as to introduce him as "a master-intriguer, apparently busy trying to lead up the garden path the Dutch East India Company and Governor van de

¹⁰⁰ MACOWAN, *Personalia of Botan. Collectors at the Cape*, republ. by VERDUYN DEN BOER in *Botanists at the Cape I*, p. 42 (1929).

¹⁰¹ J. MUIR, *Die Huisgenoot*, Aug. 4, 1933, p. 69.

Graaff'' (transl.)¹⁰². However, BANKS, one of the most prominent botanists of that period, is also mentioned as not wanting to be mixed up in politics.

Miss EDWARDS, Librarian of the Botanical Department of the British Museum (Natural History), gave us some information as to the whereabouts of originals in MASSON's handwriting, letters and other items MASSON sent to BANKS during and after his second stay at the Cape. We obtained photographs of these autographs, hitherto unpublished. There are three short letters, a note regarding his *Stapeliae Novae*, and six expenses accounts, the latter including two duplicates.

The first item to be published here is an account in the custody of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew¹⁰³. The authorities at Kew were not quite certain if the document is in MASSON's own hand. But comparing this item with the other accounts we laid hands on, we find the handwriting completely identical. We have thoroughly examined the handwriting of the various letters and accounts, and there is no doubt about it that it is all MASSON's.

The account, slightly damaged or faded in places, reads as follows:

EXPENCES AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE ON ACCOUNT OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY,
FROM THE FIRST OF MARCH 1788 TO THE FIRST OF JAN^y 1789 PRELUDING A JOURNEY
TO THE ELEPHANTS RIVER BEING ABOUT 200 MILES DIST FROM THE CAPE

To two Journies to False Bay	- - - - -	20 - 6
To Boat hire on various occasions	- - - - -	14 - 7
To Cooley hire on various occasions	- - - - -	22 - 1
To Garden Pots & Boxes	- - - - -	75 - 7
To Stationary Ware	- - - - -	22
To a large Chest	- - - - -	12
To Baskets	- - - - -	7 - -
To a large Carr	- - - - -	220
To 10 Oxen a 12 R.D ^s each	- - - - -	120
To a Dutch Waggoner & Hottentot for 5 months a 15 R.D ^s p ^r month	- -	75
To Powder & Shot	- - - - -	12 - 6
To Cooking Utensils	- - - - -	20 7
To various necessaries for the Journey	- - - - -	45 6
To 10 Months Board & lodging	- - - - -	400
		1069 -

¹⁰² J. MUIR, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁰³ BANKS Correspondence, Vol. 1, folio 332.

The entries are in old Cape currency, viz. Rijksdaalders, Rixdollars (R.Ds.), and schellingen. The schelling was a silver coin to the value of 6 stuivers (about sixpence, thus 2 schellingen to a shilling). There are 8 schellingen, or 48 stuivers, to a Rijksdaalder. In THUNBERG's *Travels* (Vol. I (1795), p. 231), it is erroneously stated that a Rixdollar is valued at eight "shillings".

The expenses precluding a contemplated journey to the Olifants River ("Elephants" R.), amount to 493 Rixdollars and 3 schellingen (six entries, from "To a large Carr"). Next account shows that this journey was extended as far as the Kamiesberg in Namaqualand, for which they had to cross the Olifants River and proceed in a northern direction. This made the expenditure much higher. We wonder whether so much money spent on a single journey met with the full approval of BANKS. This journey is also referred to in two of MASSON's letters to THUNBERG (see below).

A number of MASSON originals have found their way to the Sutor Branch of the California State Library, San Francisco, as part of the BANKS Manuscripts Collection. There are a total of three letters and three accounts, the latter with two duplicates, which may be introduced here in chronological order.

1. EXPENCES AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE ON ACCOUNT OF HIS MAJESTY FROM THE FIRST OF JANUARY 1789 TO THE FIRST OF JANUARY 1790. INCLUDING A JOURNEY TO THE KAMIES BERG BEING ABOUT 400 MILES DISTANT FROM THE CAPE.

Janry	To A Journey to French Hook for 14 days	- - - - -	12	
April	To a Journey to Hottentots Holland. 14 days	- - - - -	12	
	To Cooley Hire	- - - - -	28	
	To Boat Hire	- - - - -	10	
	To Baskets	- - - - -	12	
May	To a Journey to False Bay for 8 days	- - - - -	10	
	To Stationary Ware	- - - - -	30	5
	To a person in the course of 3 years for watering the Plants in my absence.	- - - - -	18	6
	To Boxes for living Plants, Bulbs, Seeds &c	- - - - -	59	7
	To a Spade & Watering Pot.	- - - - -	5	
	*To 3 oxen	- - - - -	40	
	To a Musquet	- - - - -	40	
	To 2 Hottentot Waggoners for 5 months a 10 Rix Doll. p ^r month.	-	50	
	To Powder & Shot	- - - - -	16	
	To Leather Canvas & cours linnen for Seed bags	- - - - -	12	6
	To keeping my oxen for 7 months a 5 RD p month	- - - - -	35	
	To D ^o for my Horse	- - - - -	75	
	To Necessaries on the Journey	- - - - -	100	
	To mending the Carr on the Journey	- - - - -	10	
	To Board & lodging for 9 months	- - - - -	360	

Expences at the Cape of Good Hope on
account of his Majesty from the first of
Jan^r 1789 to the first of Jan^r 1790. Includ-
ing a Journey to the Camies Berg being
about 400 Miles distant from the Cape.

Jan ^r	To A Journey to French Hook for 14 days	12
April	To a Journey to Hottentots Holland. 14 days	12
	To Cooley Hire	28
	To Boat Hire	10
	To Baskets	12
May	To a Journey to False Bay for 8 days	10
	To Stationary Wain	30 5
	To a person in the course of 3 years for water- ing the Plants in my absence.	18 6
	To Boxes for living Plants, Bulbs, Seeds &c	59 7
	To a Spade & Watering Pot.	5
	* To 3 Oxen	40
	To a Musquet	40
	To 2 Hottentot Waggoners for 5 months & 10 Rix Doll. p ^r month.	50
	To Powder & Shot	16
	To leather Canvas & coarse Runen for Seed bags	12 6
	To keeping my oxen for 7 months & 5 Rix p ^r month	35
	To S ^o for my Horse	75
	To Micepares on the Journey	100
	To mending the Carr on the Journey	10
	To Board & lodging for 9 months	360
		937

Masson's
Expenses
from Jan^r 1789
to Jan^r 1790

There is a marginal note in a scribbly handwriting, presumably BANKS's, which reads: "Masson's Expences from Jan 1st 1789 to Jan 1st 1790". The account is reproduced herewith (Plate XXVII).

From the entry marked by MASSON with an asterisk, all expenses—apart from the amount entered for board and lodging—are obviously connected with the journey to the Kamiesberg. From this account and also from MASSON's letter to THUNBERG of March 21, 1793, it is not clear when the journey was undertaken, but from notes in MASSON's own hand on the face of two of his botanical drawings, Nos. 133 and 116, at the British Museum¹⁰⁴, it is evident that it was in 1790. MASSON is not responsible for all information appearing on his drawings. He gives the name of the plant, unless he failed to identify it, and describes the locality, at the same time stating when the plant was collected. In addition to this he often gives some botanical characteristics. Most of these notes are in faulty Latin. On some drawings he has written down one or two remarks about the colouring of the picture. Apart from the notes in MASSON's own hand, all but one of the transcripts we received of the notes on ten of his drawings, show some additional notes, written down by (a) later botanist(s), when checking on the identity of the pictured plants. We may now quote the information given on the two drawings referred to (notes in a later hand printed in italics).

No. 133. "*Gethyllis verticillata* R. Br. in locis arenosis ultra Piquetberg. Hort. Masson 1790. Natural size." (Transl.: . . . in sandy places beyond Piquetberg . . .). This plant of the *Amaryllis* family is still known as *Gethyllis verticillata*, R. Br., and was later found near Vredendal in the Van Rhynsdorp Division.

No. 116. "*Amaryllis radula*. Coroll. a little brighter anthers darker. F. in Hort. Mass. Loc. nat. in coleibus aridissimus. Karo prop. Elephants River. Cap. B.S. 1790." (Transl.: . . . Flowered in Masson's Garden. Natural habitat on very dry hills. Karoo near Olifants River . . .). Written beneath in a later hand: "*See Baker. Amaryllis* 98. *Brunsvigia radula* Ait." The reference is to J. G. BAKER's *Handbook of the Amaryllideae* (1888). *B. radula*, Ait., a valid species, was found by H. HALL in two places in Namaqualand, Wallekraal and Steinkopf, in 1954 and 1956 respectively.

¹⁰⁴ In his thesis *The Expanding Horizon* (1957) FORBES, who has seen MASSON's botanical drawings in the British Museum (Natural History), refers to the information *re* the time MASSON's journeys were undertaken, provided by notes on his drawings. This made us approach the Librarian of the Botany Dept., Miss EDWARDS who kindly presented us with full transcripts of the notes on the various drawings referred to—ten in all. Apart from these, we received from her transcripts of the notes on several other drawings.

Unfortunately, no months are stated, but it is possible that MASSON was outward bound when he collected those plants.

The garden referred to is MASSON'S famous "little garden" at Cape Town (see below).

2.

Cape of Good Hope 29 June 1792

Sir

Inclosed I send you my annual expences for the years 1790 and 1791. The articles are as nearly posted as nearly as possible considering my wandering State of living. and you may rest satisfied that every penny has been employed for the good of the Service.

I had given up thoughts of making more long Journeys but having a Waggon. I think 4 or 5 months in some of the most unfrequented parts (by Botanist) of the country would be more interesting than remaining about the Cape. in which case I must buy a Set of oxen my others was very old. and Several of them destroyed by the Hyenas. I therefore sold the remaining 8 for 64 Rix dollar to the Butchers.

My intention of setting out in the month of August has obliged me to draw money for the current year much sooner than usual the bill is of 1000 Rix dollar

Our India Ships homeward bound not touching here this season prevented me from sending the accounts sooner

I am Sir most respectfully
your Fran^s Masson

Sir Joseph Banks

The journey he was preparing definitely was the one to the Klein Roggeveld (150 miles in direct line from the Cape), mentioned in his letter to THUNBERG of March 21, 1793. He must have left the Cape early in August, according to a note on No. 115 of his drawings of Cape plants, informing us that the pictured plant, *Massonia latebrosa*, Mass., was found in August, 1792, in the Bokkeveld, which is on the road to the Klein Roggeveld. From the information given, the sketch appears to have been made by MASSON of the collected plant when it flowered in his garden at Cape Town. The information on the face of the drawing reads as follows: "*Massonia latibrosa*. Hab. in spelunca Bokefeld Fl. in Hort. Anthers & stam, much finer. C.B.S. August, 1792." (Transl.: . . . Habitat in a cavern in the Bokkeveld. Flowered in Garden . . .) This is followed by a note in a later hand, viz. "*Massonia latebrosa*



PLATE XXVIII.

Masson's drawing No. 113, "*Massonia scabra*", identified as *Massonia pustula*, Jacq. The notes in Masson's hand on the drawing are very faint, are hardly discernable.

By permission of the British Museum (Natural History)

Masson! Journ. Bot. 1886, 336." The article referred to in the *Journ. of Bot. (British)* is on new Cape Liliaceae, contributed by BAKER. *M. latebrosa* is an undetermined species, it has never been rediscovered. The description in BAKER's paper and in the *Flora Capensis* is from MASSON's drawing. The habitat as given by MASSON sounds a bit strange. But Miss BARKER writes that she has seen *Massonias* growing at the base of overhanging rocks, which could pass as caverns. The name MASSON has given to this "mystery species" is very appropriate, as it refers to its way of growing: "latebrosa" means hidden. Finally, it should be mentioned that this drawing is inscribed "F. Masson pinxt."

Among MASSON's drawings there is a picture of another *Massonia* species, named in his hand "*Massonia scabra*". This is drawing No. 113, reproduced herewith (Plate XXVIII). MASSON's notes on the face are as follows: "C.B.S. 1792—In hort Massoniana in Junius." A later hand identifies this plant as *Massonia pustulata*, Jacq., and gives as reference *Fl. Cap.* VI, 411. As mentioned in this work, *M. pustulata* (syn. *M. scabra*, Andr.) was introduced into cultivation by MASSON in 1790. But there is no record when and where it was found by him. Miss BARKER drew our attention to a picture of this species, made by Miss B. O. CARTER, and published in the *Flowering Plants of South Africa*, as Plate 915 (Vol. XXIII, 1943), with the description and notes by Miss F. M. LEIGHTON. The specimen illustrated came from Cape Infanta in the Swellendam Division and was said to be growing very near the sea. It is also mentioned as having been found at Witsands in the same region. Another three localities, given by Miss BARKER, are Ratel River, Bredasdorp (COMPTON 14768), Riversdale Division (J. MUIR, S.A. Museum, 6439), and Montagu, C.P. (K. H. BARNARD, S.A. Museum, 27362). *M. pustulata* has green leaves, flecked with liverish brown, which show about 20 nerves, with the surface between the nerves raised and densely pustulate, hence the name. The perianth segments are creamy white, the styles are pink.

Returning to the letter to THUNBERG referred to, it is learnt from it that in the previous years he set out on two long journeys into the interior only, viz. to Namaqualand (Kamiesberg !) and the Klein Roggeveld. His account for the year 1790 (see below), which must have reached BANKS in the first half of 1791, includes various expenses *re* an expedition to the Klein Roggeveld. As there was no such journey in 1791, these expenses were well ahead of it. It is curious that it would take MASSON that long before he could finally leave for the Klein Roggeveld. In this connection it may be reminded that the journey to Namaqualand first mentioned in the account of March 1, 1788, to January 1, 1789, only materialized in 1790.

Following are the two accounts enclosed with MASSON's letter to BANKS of June 29, 1792.

3. EXPENCES AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FOR THE YEAR 1790 ON ACCOUNT OF
H BRITANNIC MAJESTY INCLUDING A JOURNEY FROM THE CAPE TO KLEYN
ROGGVELT. RETURNING BY ZWARTBERG PLATT KLOOF & ZWELLEN DAM &c

	R.Dol.
To a new Waggon - - - - -	300
To a Saddle - - - - -	42
To Garden Pots - - - - -	14
To a Journey to the hot Bath - - - - -	20
To a Hottentot on different occasions - - - - -	16
To expences on various occasions - - - - -	73
To a Chest - - - - -	4
To a Basket - - - - -	2
To Papper & linnen bags for Seed - - - - -	31
To Hoops for the Waggon - - - - -	4
To a Cask - - - - -	4
To Tobacco - - - - -	6
To 3 Waggon wheeps [!] - - - - -	4
To 1 Box - - - - -	1
To Liquors for the Journey - - - - -	20
To 1 Box - - - - -	2
To 1 Do - - - - -	4
To Powder & Shot - - - - -	12
To various other articles for the Journey - - - - -	41
To 2 Drivers for 5 Months - - - - -	50
To board & lodging for 8 Months - - - - -	320
To Room hire - - - - -	80
	1050
[On the reverse]	1050
To Money expended on the Journey - - - - -	100
To two oxen - - - - -	24
To Boat hire on various occasions - - - - -	20
To Slave hire on different occasions - - - - -	23
To Money expended on different Journies round Cape - - - - -	40
To keeping my horse - - - - -	60
To Boxes for Seeds - - - - -	26
	1343

Sir Joseph Banks

As stated in the heading of this account, MASSON returned to the Cape by way of the Zwarteberg, Plattelkloof and Swellendam. We have not come across any records as to how long exactly the journey lasted, but according to one of the entries in the above account MASSON had a five months' journey in mind.

There is a duplicate of this account, obviously sent by another ship. Several entries on the duplicate show a different wording, in two cases the entry is, apart from the amount, altogether different. The tenth entry we find on the duplicate account replaced by "To a Tilt for my Waggon" (4 R.Ds). and the eighteenth "To a coverlid [coverlet !] for my bed" (12 R.Ds). The twelfth (the eleventh on the duplicate) is a little

more detailed, viz. "To Tobacco for the drivers", while the next entry is found in the proper spelling on the duplicate: "To Waggon Whips". So far the account.

4. EXPENCES FOR THE YEAR 1791		R Dollar
To Elephant paper ¹⁰⁵	- - - - -	25
To Catridge D ^o ¹⁰⁶	- - - - -	20
To a Hottentot a 3 R Dollar pr month	- - - - -	36
To keeping my horse for 8 Months	- - - - -	40
To Cooley hire for carrying boxes to False Bay	- - - - -	8
To two Journies to False Bay	- - - - -	30
To a Journey to Cape False Horse hire and other expences	- - - - -	46
To Hout Bay; False Bay; Cape Bona	- - - - -	36
To Boat hire Cooley hire on various occasions	- - - - -	23
To Board & Lodging	- - - - -	480
To Boxes & Flower Pots	- - - - -	40
To expences on different Journies round the Cape	- - - - -	40
To Store House room for my Waggon for 8 Months	- - - - -	16
To other reparations for d ^o	- - - - -	20
To a large Chest	- - - - -	10
To Baskets	- - - - -	10
To other expences	- - - - -	24
To a man who took care of my plants in my absence	- - - - -	12
Sum	- - -	916

This is as near an account as I can give, without entering into an endless minutia which would be of very little use; as I have don every exertion for the good of the service & kept as near as possible to the Sum procribed [!]; which is very difficult considering the dearness of living here. I sent you a duplicat nearly to the Same amount by a dutch Ship.

As to the duplicate account sent by the Dutch ship, this too reveals a few differences in its entries, but the total amount is exactly the same. The fourth entry reads: "To Stabbling for my Horse for 8 Months 5RD pr Month"; the fifth: "To carryin 2 boxes of plants to False Bay"; the seventh: there are two entries on the duplicate, viz. "To a Journey to Cape False for 12 day Horse hire for my Hottentot - - - 36", and "To other expences - - - 10"; ninth entry: "To Boxes sent home in the Leopard and Waakzaamheid [Dutch ship, correct spelling *Waakzaamheid*] including boat hire"; the thirteenth: "To Store house room for my Waggon for 3 months - - - 6"; sixteenth entry: "To Baskets - - - 20"; and the seventeenth: "To Slave hire on different occasions" (24 R.D.).

The garden utensils (seed boxes, pots, etc.), mentioned in the accounts, were obviously required for MASSON's garden at Cape Town.

¹⁰⁵ Elephant paper: a size of drawing paper measuring 28 x 23 inches. Double Elephant is 40 x 26½ inches.

¹⁰⁶ Catridge paper: a strong kind of paper, used in making cartridges and also for rough drawings—presumably in this case!

The next item is another letter, a very short one, written on the same day.

5.

Cape of Good Hope 29th June 1792

Sir

I have drawn upon you for the expences of the current year. a Bill of one thousand Rix Dollars on Account of His Majesty payable to the order of Christian Hendreck Schrader Merchant in Amsterdam Which I hope you will honor

I am Sir with the greatest
respect you most obedient
Servant

Fran^s Masson

Sir Joseph Banks Bar^t

Towards the bottom of the sheet, to the left of MASSON's writing, there is a short annotation in BANKS's hand, viz. "48 Stivers [Cape currency, properly spelt *Stuivers*] p^r Rixdollar accepted Oct 6 1792".

On the reverse of the sheet BANKS has jotted down an enumeration of the total amounts on MASSON's expenses accounts thus far received: "1st Bills 1450 (Rds). - 2nd Bill Jun 3^d 1788 800. - 3^d bill Dec^r 24 1788 1069. - 4th bill Dec^r 24 1789 937. - 5th bill Sept. 3^d 1790 1343. 5. - May 8 92 6th bill Oct^r 15, 1791 at 48 Stivers p^r R^{dr} 1000." The last item on this list shows another, later date added to it. There were obviously two accounts, one of October 15, 1791, amounting to 916 R.Ds (the 1791 account included in this paper), and another bill for additional expenses (the remaining 84 R.Ds !) sent to BANKS nearly seven months later.

About a month after his return to England, MASSON wrote the following letter to BANKS:

6.

Kensington August 28 1795

Sir

I am sorry that I did not mention to you before your departure for the country of a Set of bills which I drewed at the Cape for the last years expences, the Sum of 1140 Rix dollars, also at S^t Helena 16 L. Str [Pound Sterling] from Mr Porteus. as no hard money could be got at the cape. and also my passage home which will come to 80 L. wishing to pay Cap^t Thomas I spoke to Mess^{rs} Courtts & co¹⁰⁷ but finding they

¹⁰⁷ Banking House of Courtts & Co. in the Strand, London.

had put all my money into the fonds except a ballance of 78 Pounds which I wanted for my present use they could not advance me the 80 pounds without an order from you. and I wish to have it settled as I believe the Cap^t means soon to go to sea. by the time of your return I shall be able to lay my accounts before you

I am Sir with the greatest
respect

your^s Fran^s Masson

Right at the bottom to the left BANKS has scribbled "Sept 2-3", obviously a reference to the day the letter was received. On the back of the sheet we find the following note by BANKS:— "wrote that I had accepted Porteus's Bill and would accept the Cape bill when it Came to hand also Sent him an order upon Coutts for £80. for his Passage ". So MASSON could pay Capt. THOMAS before the latter was sailing.

This letter is the last of the MASSON items at the California State Library.

As already mentioned, the manuscript collection of the University Library (Universitetsbiblioteket) at Uppsala, the old university town, once the home of LINNAEUS, father and son, THUNBERG and SPARRMAN, contains three letters MASSON wrote to his fellow-traveller THUNBERG. These letters, published before, without any annotation, as part of our THUNBERG paper¹⁰⁸, may be reproduced here with various explanatory notes.

FIRST LETTER TO THUNBERG

Cape of Good Hope 21st March 1793.

Much esteemed Friend

After so many years Shameful neglect of a friend to whom I ow so many obligations, for which I can make no apology; I take the liberty to address you from the Southern extreimity of Barbarous Africa where I suppose you are not ignorant of my long station. The sol intention of my second visit to the Cape being to furnish the Royal Garden at *Kew* with living Plants and as the mountains in the southern parts abound more with beautiful Frutices than the dry parched mountains of the interior parts I had orders to confine my investigation chiefly to them. I however broke through my orders and made one Journey to the Namaqua Land and another to the Kleijn Roggeveld [Klein R.] & Zwarte berg which proved productive of many beautiful plants. The rest of my

¹⁰⁸ This Journal, Vol. V, January, 1939, pp. 23-26.

time has been employed exploring the Mountains of Hottentot Holland, French Hoek [Fransch H.], Roede Zant [Roodezand], Rivier Zonder Eijnde [Zonder End River].

Altho' our former collections of Cape plants was very numerous and complete yet I think I have discovered some new Genera and added several new Species to the old. To the Genera *Erica*, *Protea*, *Amaryllis*, *Haemanthus* I have added Several new Species. of the Genus *Massonia* I have discovered four new Species, of the Genus *Stapelia* I have discovered more than twenty new Species. I have mad figures of most of them [*Stapeliae* !] and intends to give a Monography of them when I return to England.

To Insects & Fishes I have made a pretty good collection but of the other parts of Natural history I have don nothing.

We have had here for some years a Collector from the Emperor of Germany but he has been very unfortunat in loosing so many Masters¹⁰⁹. Several French Botanists has been here *en passant* one very recent a *Mr. Aubert* who has been on the Island of *Tristan d' Cunha* and made a curious collection. (He favoured me with a few Sps.) it is curious to observe that they seem to pertain of both continents viz. Africa & America. I observed some *phylica*¹¹⁰ but no *Erica* or *Protea*.

Most of your old Friends are still alive. Mr. DE WITT of Roede Zant. THUNNIS Zoete Milk vallei, Juffrouw DE KOK Zee koe Rivier¹¹¹. with

¹⁰⁹ The collector referred to is GEORG SCHOLL, who had successively three German emperors of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine as his master, viz. JOSEPH II (1785-90), LEOPOLD II (1790-92), and FRANZ II (from 1792 onwards). MASSON is a bit exaggerating when writing that this collector lost so many imperial masters: there were only two who died previous to MASSON's letter, viz., JOSEPH and LEOPOLD.

¹¹⁰ *Phylica*, L. (Rhamnaceae).

¹¹¹ The names of these three old friends as given by MASSON, are not correctly spelt. The persons referred to are:

Mr. DE WET of Roodezand (the present Tulbagh valley). About Sept. 26, 1772, THUNBERG, on his first journey into Caffraria, on which he was accompanied by AUGÉ, young IMMELMAN and sergeant LEONHARDI, arrived at a farm inhabited by "DE VETT [Swedish spelling!], a descendant of one of the French families which came with the first colonists that settled in this part of Africa, to lay our vineyards and plant fruit-trees" (THUNBERG, *Travels*, Vol. I (1795), p. 135; see also this Journal, Vol. V, Oct., 1939, p. 119). Later on, in Sept., 1773, and Dec., 1774, DE WET's farm was visited both by MASSON and THUNBERG when they were fellow-travellers on the two journeys into the interior mentioned before.

MARTINUS AEGIDIUS THEUNISSEN (1744-1825), overseer of the Dutch East India Company's post Zoetemelksvlei at the Zonder End River. He was a Dutchman; in 1764 his people had come from Holland to settle at the Cape. He was appointed to the above post by Governor TULBAGH about 1772. Moreover, THEUNISSEN became a pioneer forester. At a certain period the Landdrost of the district (Swellendam) was commissioner of no less than four posts, viz., Zoetemelksvlei, Ziekenhuis (near Zonder End R.), Tygerhoek, and Rietvlei at the Buffeljagts River. Zoetemelksvlei was the main post, the other ones falling under it. THEUNISSEN appears to have alternately lived at Zoetemelksvlei and Rietvlei, though the former was his headquarters. THUNBERG, on his way home from his first journey into Caffraria, came to Zoetemelksvlei in Dec., 1772, shortly before MASSON and OLDENBURG arrived there early in Jan., 1773. MASSON found there a beautiful home,

many others. — Colonel GORDON often mentions you with respect and intends writing to you but at presents is too much employed in Political Affairs.

I have delivered to our Friend Mr. BRATT a Box containing Insects and a packet containing Plants which he promises to forward to your Correspondent in Holland if any Swedish Ship touches here I shall write you more particularly

I am dear Sir with the greatest esteem

Your very humble Servant

Frans. Masson

Chevalier Thunberg.

MASSON's remark about GORDON, who was then colonel in the service of the Dutch E. I. Company, is not quite clear. It is possible that the political situation gave rise to anxiety. Another two years only, and Holland would fall under the revolutionary government of France, resulting in the English fleet arriving at the Cape (see footnote 92).

SECOND LETTER TO THUNBERG

Cape of Good Hope 15th May 1793.

My dear friend,

Some months past I did myself the honor to write you a letter with a box of Insects and a few Specimens of Plants which I thought would be acceptable to you. I delivered it to your correspondent Mr. BRATT to forward it; but in the present State of affairs in Holland he thought it best to deliver it to a Swedish India Ship bound to China it will be long in coming but will be safer as we hear that France has declared war

belonging to the Company's forester. In Oct., 1772, thus on the return journey, THUNBERG and his party stayed for several days at Rietvlei "to arrange the collections we had made, and to repair our wretched carriage, which had been shattered to pieces by the strong and mountainous roads Not far from this farm of the company's, which particularly furnishes it with large timber, is a large wood, called Grootvader's Bosch. . . . " (THUNBERG, *Travels*, Vol. I (1795), pp. 168-9.) FATERSON visited Rietvlei in 1777 and mentions MARTH. THEUNISSEN, the Company's overseer. Much later, in 1804, Dr. H. LICHTENSTEIN, when on a return journey from Swellendam to Cape Town, stopped at Zoetemelksvlei, to examine some buildings that had been erected by the postholder THEUNISSEN on the other bank of the Zonder End River. For most of the above records we are indebted to MUIR's article on THEUNISSEN in *Die Huisgenoot*, March 9, 1934.

Juffrouw KOK (not *de* Kok) of Seekoe River. The widow of JOHANNES JACOBUS KOK (see footnote 54) who occupied the farm at Seekoe R. In 1786 the widow was mentioned for the first time and in that same year the farm was taken over by JACOBUS KOK, JACOBSZ., evidently the very person who was reported by General JANSSENS in 1803 as having fled thence from the Kaffirs (FORBES, in his thesis *The Expanding Horizon*, 1957).

against that Republic. I have a small collection of beautiful exemplars of plants of Botany Bay which I wish to send to you but for the same reason I defer it to another opportunity.

My long residence at the Cape enabled me to make some new Botanical discoveries; altho' my Journeys has not been so far as when we travelled together; my farthest Journey has been only to the Camies Berg [Kamiesberg, Namaqualand]. I have discovered many N : Sp : of *Staplia* near thirty Sps. many N : Species of *Amaryllis*, *Haemanthus*, *Massonia* *Albuca* etc. I think now to make another Journey into that country, which will finish my perigrinations here when I think of returning home, and Shall be happy to communicate every thing that may be worth your notice.

I have a good collection of Insects. I have found a red *Blaasop*¹¹². but have only one Specimen.

I am dear Sir with the greatest
Esteem yours

Francis Masson

Many of your old friends
still exist and have often
enquired for you viz.
DE WITT of Rode Zant
THUNNIS, Zoet Melk Valeij
AUGE is yet alive but live
far in the country¹¹³.

The letter is addressed in French, viz.

Monsieur Charles Pierre Thunberg
Chevalier e Professeur de Botanique
à Upsal
en Swede.

MASSON's plans for a second journey into the Kamiesberg region, referred to in the above letter, materialized later in the year (1793), according to the notes on several of his botanical drawings. This expedition is represented first by Nos. 93 and 105, which are of specimens found

¹¹² MASSON refers here to one of the family of grasshoppers and locusts, Acridiidae Order Orthoptera. The "Blaasop" (Cape Dutch, means blown up, inflated; wrongly spelt by MASSON), *Pneumora scutellaris*, is a locust, the male of which has a sound-producing organ on the abdomen, which is greatly inflated (hence the name !) and intensifies the sound. However, its colour is a uniform green, and there is no such thing like a red "Blaasop". Was it perhaps the Red Locust, *Cyrtacanthacris septemfasciata*, he found?

The above entomological notes have been taken from GILCHRIST, S.A. *Zoology* (1911).

¹¹³ At the time MASSON wrote this letter, JAN ANDRIES AUGE was probably living at the farm of a friend on the Gamtoos River. He was then 82 years of age and totally blind.

in July, 1793, when he was presumably outward bound, at Rhenoster Fontein near Lange Vallei, probably that what is now mapped 13 miles W.S.W. of Clanwilliam. Following are the notes appearing on these two drawings.

No. 93. "*Amaryllis* sp. nova. Rhinoceros Fountain ultra [beyond] Lang Valley, July 12th. 1793. Natural size." Beneath in a later hand: "*Strumaria truncata*, Jacq. no! *Corolla similis*. *A. tenera*. See Baker. *Amaryllis* 104 where this is erroneously identified *Hessee stellaris* Salisb. with *S. truncata*." The work referred to is BAKER'S *Handbook of the Amaryllideae* (1888). *S. truncata*, Jacq. is the valid name of this species, which is known from various localities, as Strandfontein near Clanwilliam, Bitterfontein, Sandkraal and near Klaver in the Van Rhynsdorp Division, Garies, Spektakel and Mierenkasteel (or Meerhoffs Casteel !) in Namaqualand.

No. 105. "Rhinoceros Fountain juxta Lang Valley, July, 1793. *Foleis margini purpurascens*. Stamina to be made a little lighter, inside of the corolla to be brightened." (Transl.: . . . near Lange Vallei . . . Leaves growing purple at the margin . . .). No name is given. Below in pencil in a later hand: "*Haemanthus undulatus* Herb. See Masson's specimen in Herb." This plant, still known under the name *H. undulatus*, Herb., has since been found in some places in the Clanwilliam region (*inter alia* Pakhuis and Olifants River Valley), in the Van Rhynsdorp Division (foot of the Van Rhyns Pass), and also in Namaqualand.

There are another three drawings, Nos. 131, 111 and 37, showing plants collected on the outward bound journey, according to the notes written on them.

No. 131 is the picture of a plant, collected at Seekoe Valley, in the same month as the latter species. The following notes appear on its face: "*Gethyllis undulata* Herbert. Africa Australi [Southern A.] Zee Thoe Valley. Coll. Julio 1793. Fl. in Hort. Masson Mart 1794." Beneath in a later hand: "*See Journ. Bot.* 1885, 227." The paper referred to is *A Monograph of the Genus Gethyllis*, by BAKER. There are no known specimens of this species which flowered in MASSON'S garden at Cape Town. It obviously has never been rediscovered.

Drawing No. 111 is of a plant found on the top of the Kamiesberg, in 1793. The notes on the face read as follows: "*Massonia echinata*? Fl. in Hort. Massoniana May, 1794. Ground of the leaf to be darker. Petals to be brightened up with white." Below in a later hand: "*See specimen in Herbarium Massonia echinata*." On the back, revealed through a window cut in the paper on which it is pasted, there is an additional note in Masson's hand: "*summis montanum* (Camiesberg) in fissures rupis

planis vastis Granit 1793." (Transl.: . . . on the summits of the mountain (Kamiesb.) in rock clefts on arid plains . . .). *M. echinata*, L. f., a valid species, has been collected by later botanists at Van Rhyns Pass and on the summit of this Pass (Van Rhynsdorp Division), Grasberg in the Calvinia district, Karroo Poort near Ceres, and also in Little Namaqualand.

Finally drawing No. 37, showing the following notes in MASSON's hand on the face: "Fl. aurantiaca viscoides Planta parasitica ad arbores Mimosa nilotica. Namagualand Groen rivier, August, 1793." (Transl.: Flowers orange, viscid. A parasitic plant on *M. nilotica* (= *Acacia karroo*, Hayne) trees.) Added in a later hand: "*Loranthus oleaefolius* Ch. & Sch." The locality, Groen Rivier, mentioned by MASSON, is N.W. of Kamiesberg. This parasitic plant, still known as *L. oleaefolius*, Cham. et Schl., has been later found not only in the Clanwilliam region (Olifants River, Lange Vallei), but also in the Eastern Cape (near Zwartkops and Sundays Rivers in the Uitenhage district, near Despatch on *Salix capensis*, in the vicinity of Grahamstown). As to the colouring of the flowers, it should be pointed out that it is the unopened corolla which is of a bright orange-scarlet colour.

Follows the description of two drawings, Nos. 128 and 117, made of plants which were obviously collected on the way home to the Cape, according to the notes written on them, viz. at Meerhoffs Casteel (a locality known under various spellings) in the Van Rhynsdorp Division, and near the Olifants River respectively.

No. 128. "Gethyllis latifolia. Meerhofs Casteel Sept. 1793. Fl. in Hort. Masson Feb. 1794. Scop. striata fol. glauca. [G] lanceolata Thunb." (Transl.: . . . Stems striate, . . . leaves glaucous . . .) Beneath in a later hand: "*Baker in Journ. Bot. tab. 259: p. 228.*" This species is only known from the copy of MASSON's drawing, illustrating BAKER's paper on *Gethyllis*, in the Journal of Botany (1885). Miss BARKER and Dr. LEWIS once tried to trace the old locality Meerhoffs Casteel, but the area is all cultivated now and no one they asked seemed to know the name.

No. 117. We saw a tracing in colour, made from this drawing, by Miss BARKER in 1937. The picture, of "*Lachenalia succulenta*", shows various notes, carefully traced, on the face. Beneath the drawing of the plant MASSON has written:— "*Lachenalia Succulenta Africa australi* [Southern A.] Karé Olifants rivier octobri 1793", while in the left bottom corner of the sheet we find the inscription "F. Masson" in the same hand. The following notes, also in MASSON's handwriting, are in the top corner to the right of the two racemes: "Corolla albescens Petalis versus apice deluti [= dilatis ?] purpurascens palens Olifants rivier collibus aridis octobri 9th 1793 Pedunculi alba." (Transl.: Corolla becoming white, with

petals spread towards the apex; turning a whitish purple . . . , on dry hills . . . Peduncles white.) The word "deluti" in this short description is inconceivable, but it has occurred to Miss BARKER, who knows the genus well, that the word MASSON meant to use actually was "dilati", meaning spreading, as the petals do spread at the tip. Grammatically, it should be "dilatilis", being a characteristic of the petals. We thought it justified to give the translation of the latter word. Finally, there is a short reference, written down by a later botanist, and which reads as follows:— "*Lachenalia succulenta* Masson! *Journ. Bot.* 1886, 336." The paper referred to is BAKER's *New Cape Liliaceae*. As to the identity of this species, Miss BARKER is convinced that it is synonymous with *L. patula*, Jacq., the latter being the valid name. It has been collected a number of times on the Knersvlakte, quartz-patches in the Van Rhynsdorp Division.

The localities mentioned on these drawings give a rough idea of the route taken by MASSON on his second journey to the Kamiesberg.

THIRD LETTER TO THUNBERG.

Addressed to:

Charles Peter Thunberg

M.D.

Knight of the Order of Vasa. Professor
of Botany at

Upsal.

London Nov. 29 1795.

My dear Friend,

I have the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival here about 4 months ago. I have also had the pleasure to receive your obliging letter dated October 14th 1794 accompanying your prodromus¹¹⁴ for which I return you many thanks. I left the cape Good Hope 17th of last March. with a collection of growing Plants which I have been so fortunate to bring Safe home all my Stapelei (about 30 Spec.) are now growing in Kew Garden. Many of your old friends are yet alive at the Cape. viz. THUNES & his wife. old DE WITT of Roode Zant etc. but the whole colony has for some years been falling in decadence and at last almost General State Bankruptsy. having nothing but wretched papper money. It is now fallen into the hands of the English whether they will recover its

¹¹⁴ C. P. THUNBERG, *Prodromus Plantarum Capensium*, quas, in Promontorio Bonae Spei Africae, annis 1772-1775, collegit. Pars prior (Classes I-X), tab. 1-3. Upsaliae (1794). A second part (Cl. XI-XXIV) appeared in 1800.

credite or whether it will remain long in their hands is difficult to Say.

Last year I did my self the pleasure of writing to you & sent a small collection of plants. which Mr. BRATT forwarded by a Dutch ship but I fear that they have fallen into the Hands of their enemies and consequently lost. If there is any plants or insects which I can send to you let me know.

Excuse this short Epistle an believe dear Sir

with the greates respects
y Servat

Franc Masson

The direction to Mr. MASSON is:

Mr. Francis Masson.

at Mr. Barens's palace gate
Kensington.

(or the letter may be directed to
him at Sir Joseph Banks's K.B.
Soho square.)

The above letter concludes the MASSON correspondence 1786-95.

It is to be deplored that there is no written account of MASSON's second sojourn at the Cape, during which, as we have seen, he went on three major expeditions up country, on which he must have gathered many an interesting and even new species of plant. This time he was to stay for over ten years, during which he was regularly sending home considerable collections of plants and seeds. Many of the plants collected MASSON grew in the little garden he had established at Cape Town during that time. In this connection we may refer to the notes on some of MASSON's drawings in which the depicted plants are said to have flowered in MASSON's Garden or "Hortus Massoniana" [1].

In his letter of March 21, 1793, to THUNBERG, MASSON refers to a collector from the Emperor of Germany (see footnote 109), who had stayed at the Cape for some years. This man cannot be but GEORG SCHOLL¹¹⁵, an Austrian who, according to a statement made by JACQUIN¹¹⁶,

¹¹⁵ SCHOLL arrived at Cape Town together with FRANZ BOOS in May, 1786, viz. four months after MASSON's arrival in January. BOOS and SCHOLL had been ordered by Emperor JOSEPH II to visit Mauritius and bring back with them, for the benefit of the Imperial Gardens at Schönbrunn, Vienna, a large collection of tropical plants, which had been made by the Director of the Gardens there. They were only to call at the Cape incidentally.

Boos, born in Germany, was a botanist as well as a gardener, and evidently the leader of the expedition. SCHOLL, who was chosen to accompany him, was a mere gardener and probably with very little knowledge of plants.

Boos stayed only a year at the Cape, left again early in 1787 to proceed to Mauritius, and also to the island of Bourbon, to obtain the plant collections gathered there, which were the original object of the voyage, leaving SCHOLL behind at the Cape. He was back again at the Cape in January, 1788, having brought with him

accompanied MASSON and also GORDON on some of their journeys. Nothing is known about other fellow-travellers MASSON's during this period.

In March, 1795, MASSON left the Cape for good. Back in England he prepared his *Stapeliae Novae*. He was only to stay in his home country for just over two years: in September, 1797, when the last numbers of the above work were about to be published¹¹⁷, he left on another errand, this time for North America, whence he was not to return. At the end of December he arrived in New York after an eventful crossing, according to the following quotation from a letter he wrote thence to the younger AITON on January 1, 1798¹¹⁸:—"We arrived here in great distress after a passage of 4 months from Gravesend, during which period we experienced many difficulties. Near the Western Isles [Azores] we were stopp'd by two French Privateers, one of which boarded us, examined our Papers & let us pass. Nothing happened afterwards till the eighth of November towards night saw 3 sail bearing upon us, one of which was a French Pirate belonging to St. Domingo, who fired several shot and a volley of small arms into our ship, & soon after boarded and took possession of us." They were then put on board a Bremen vessel bound for Baltimore, and after having suffered many hardships from weather, want of water, and provisions, they were ultimately taken on board another ship, and so to New York. After some stay here MASSON went to Niagara; the latter part of the route he was coasting along the shore of Lake Ontario. From Niagara he journeyed to Queenstown, thence to Fort Erie. He returned to Niagara, subsequently reaching Montreal. The particulars of this journey are extracted from a letter, dated October 18, 1798, MASSON wrote to BANKS from the latter place. In a letter bearing date March 18, 1806, sent from Montreal by a Mr. W. VAUGHAN to the younger AITON, it is announced that MASSON died in December of the previous year.

280 boxes of tropical plants. But when a ship came along early that year to take them home, it was impossible to get all the material on board. So BOOS sailed away with as many boxes as possible, while SCHOLL stayed behind to collect additional Cape plants and to take charge of the remainder of the Mauritius and Bourbon plants. He was to remain there for twelve years in all, during which time he had ample opportunity to go on collecting trips. He returned to Vienna in 1799.

It is most unlikely that MASSON had BOOS in mind when writing to THUNBERG. BOOS was at the Cape not longer than a year and a couple of months, and there are no records of MASSON and BOOS journeying together.

The above details we owe to S. GARSIDE's article on JACQUIN, this Journal, Vol. VIII, July, 1942, pp. 210-14.

¹¹⁶ GARSIDE, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.

¹¹⁷ See MASSON's short note about the sets of his *Stapeliae Novae*, dated August 29, 1797, in Part IV of this paper.

¹¹⁸ The information about this period of MASSON's life, including the above quotation from his letter to the younger AITON, and the reference to VAUGHAN's letter, we owe to J. BRITTEN's paper on MASSON, Journal of Botany, Vol. XXII, 1884, p. 122.

There is very little known of MASSON'S activities during this last period of his life. But there are in the British Museum specimens of plants MASSON has collected among the Great Lakes, and sent to BANKS. Suffice it with mentioning here that they include *Trillium grandiflorum* (Liliaceae), a striking plant with its white flowers changing to a rose-colour (actually the 3 big inner perianth segments—much longer than the outer ones—the most prominent part of the flower), collected by him in Upper Canada. It is a valued plant in European gardens.

(To be continued)

ERRATA.

FRANCIS MASSON, Part II, this Journal, July, 1959: p. 176, footnote 53, read: *A. söccotorina*; p. 128, footnote 68, read: *Lachenalia* spp. (instead of *Lachanalia*).